ORATION,

AN

PRONOUNCED AT WINDSOR,

BEFORE A NUMEROUS COLLECTION OF REPUBLICANS,

12

ON THEIR

CELEBRATION

OF THE

THIRTY EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY

OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

BY JOHN CHAMPLIN THOMPSON, Esq.

WINDSOR, (Vt.)

PRINTED BY JESSE COCHRAN-1814.

,

Windsor, July 4th, 1814.

In beh: If of the Committee of arrangements for the celebration of the thirtycighth anniverfary of American Independence, 1 have the pleafure to return you their thanks for the Oration you have this day pronounced, and to request a copy for publication.

I avail myielf of this opportunity to affure you, that the expression of the other gentlemen of the Committee, perfectly coincides with my own.

With efteem I am, Sir, respectfully yours,

WILLIAM HUNTER, Chairman of the Committee of arrangements.

3. C. THOMPSON, ESq.

SIZ:

July 11th, 1814.

GENTLEMEN, I beg leave to affure you that I am deeply fenfible of the honor done me by requeiting a copy of my Oration, delivered on the 4th inft. for the prefs. Though I am aware of many defects in that performance, I have thought proper to comply with your requeft, and hereby place a copy at your difpofal. I am, gentlemen, very refpectfully,

your humble fervant,

1.17

Norse Kar Pinz

515242

J.C. THOMPSON.

HON. WILLIAM HUNTER,

and other gent.emen of the Committee of arrangements.

ORATION.

REPUBLICANS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS.

WE have affembled to commemorate the birth day of our Nation at a crifis, big with important events. The decifive moment is at hand, when AMERICA must contend, perhaps alone, as the avenger of universal justice. The grand exhibition on the theatre of Europe is at last clofed, a continental peace is at hand, and the veteran troops who have been actors in this tragedy are destined, as the executors of British vengeance, to reduce the United States to "unconditional fubmilfion." But, thank God, we are yet free. Notwithstanding the storms which have long agitated and convulsed the world, we yet exercise the invaluable rights of fovereign and independent Nations, and enjoy the bleffings that emanate from our happy government-the only republican government which has been preferved from the revolutions of time, and the wreck of Empires.

Let it then be our delightful duty on this aufpicious day, to inquire whence, under God, these bleffings came, and how they may be transmitted, unimpaired, to posterity. And in the performance of this duty we will hail the genius of liberty and rejoice that we have not convened to do homage to a despot, and, in the habiliments of flaves, to render thanks for our lives which he might gracioufly vouchfafe to fpare; but under the triumphant banners of freedom, to celebrate a day on which tyrants were confounded.

Having the honor to addrefs you on this interefting occafion, my imperfections will claim all the charity which your indulgent spirit can exercife. Your good fense must have taught you to expect nothing *new*. Nothing could be offered that would compensate your attention, did not the great events of the day furnish a theme.

The prefent fituation of our beloved country demands the united energies of freemen. We may indeed view with mingled fenfations of pleafure and pain, with rapture and aftonithment, the brilliant achievements and difafterous freenes of the revolution, that broke the coloftal chains of flavery, emancipated America, and ufhered into the political world a mighty empire.

But this is not *all* our duty. The heritage of our fathers is worth preferving. It is therefore incumbent on us to avert the dangers which threaten it.—To cherisch it as a gift from heaven—to guard and defend it from the encroachments of toreign power, and the turbulence of domestic faction.

The declaration of independence, which has just been read, recites the causes that impelled the fathers of our country, supported and approbated by Heaven, to affert with calmness and dignity the most facred rights of man. It arranges in order the multiplied and accumulating abuses of the parent state, to which they looked with loyalty and solicitude for justice and protection.

When petitioning and remonstrating had failed; when appeals to her "native justice and magnanimity" had proved worse than useles, America role indignant, and the Green of Lexington was crimfoned by the first blood shed in the great drama. There are probably fome in this crowded affembly, whole locks are whitened by the frofts of many winters, who were actors in that eventful ftruggle, which the exercises of this day muft bring, forcibly, to their recollection. Such, my fellow youth, whom we delight to honor as living monuments of revolutionary virtue, can go with us while, in imagination, we pass through those times of peril and calamity that " tried men's fouls." While we view the fields where patriots toiled, bled, and triumphed, and with hallowed fteps tread amongst the tombs of devoted heroes. With us they can ascend the battlements where MONTGOMERY fell, or gaze with folemnity on the plains where WASHINGTON conquered.

I do not advert to these sanguinary scenes to play upon the seelings, but to remind us of our obligations and our ability. Blood-stained fields, conflagrated villages and cities, exhibit the price of our liberty. Alternate hopes and fears, successes and disasters, admonish us of the necessity of perseverance; The issue affords a convincing proof, that a people, unitedly willing to be free, can not easily be enslaved.

From the close of the revolution the American freemen marched rapidly to wealth and fame. The United States foon commanded the refpect, the attention, and the admiration of the world. Patriots who had labored and bled to fecure the rights of men, retired from the field of battle to enjoy them. These rights were by government acknowledged, and as far as practicable, protected & fecured. Our canvass was unfurled & expanded on every iea; And while our flag was respected, our commerce produced a rich harvest of national wealth.

Weare yet comparatively profperous and happy. How delightful is the employment, to contraft our fortune, fince our national existence, with that of other nations. The empires of Europe have been torn, convulled, and drenched in blood; But America, favored of Heaven, has been faved from defolating faction; the horrors of revolution; and the violent florms of a world in arms.

Other Republican governments, like the ruined tower, have crumbled to duft, but ours has furvived, and yet remains a striking evidence of its own superior excellence.

A glance at the ftupendous fcenes in Europe, fince our revolution, will teach us properly to eftimate our happines, and most devoutly to thank the great ARBITER of nations, for the falvation of our country from a universal deluge of crimes and miferies.

Frenchmen, who had taken a part in the American revolution, had imbibed the fpirit of freemen; and having returned home with republical principles implanted in their bofoms, and hearts expanding with the love of liberty, began to pull down the pillars of a government, "cemented by ages of defpotifm." Their motives were at that time of the most pure and exalted nature. Their first exertions were made to relieve the victims of royal vengeance. The Baftile, that ungodly engine of defpotifm, was unbarred, and its wretched inhabitants who had long groaned in its dungeons, admitted to the light of Heaven and the enjoyment of the world.

Had they progreffed with that fpirit, France had yet been free. But the fudden burft of liberty upon a people, long bound in the fetters of flavery, was infupportable. Enthufiafm and mifguided zeal urged them to the most awful and dreadful extremities, and again funk them under the fcourge of a tyrant.

The aftonishing consequences of the French revolution have excited universal attention.

England, professing great love for the "Legiti-

mate kings? and "venerable inftitutions" of Europe, enlifted all her sympathy for fallen defpotism; and a powerful coalition was soon for-med, destined for its re-establishment. England, Holland, Pruffia, Austria, Germany, Italy, Ruffia, Spain and Portugal, confederated to annihilate the French Republic, which had but just rifen from the ashes of monarchy. The Republic by the most astonishing exertions triumphed over this combination of powers, and covered Europe with carnage. But this only paved the way for military defpotifm and imperial fupremacy at Napoleon Bonaparte, whose career is home. without example in modern hiftory, foon became a military chief, and the deftines of France were fubject to his fupreme control.

But his power has extended beyond the boundaries of France. His motion, like the nod of Jove, has shaken the world to its centre. By his energies monarchs have been prostrated; constitutions and governments annihilated; and thrones, kingdoms, and empires, dashed to atoms.

The early fucceffes of the French Republic were fucceeded by the most bloody operations. Emperors and kings have been deposed, imprisoned, and affaffinated to make room for others.

Poland has been overwhelmed with destruction, ftruck from the map of Europe, and a fecond time partitioned among its ruthlefs conquerors. Italy has twice been conquered. The Republics of Lucca, Venice and Genoa, have been annihilated. Holland has been annexed to France. Three times has the law been dictated to Germany,* and the constitution of *that* empire at last annihilated. In a word a fecond coalition has been formed for the destruction of the French Empire, but bro-

* At Campo Formio, Oct. 97. At Luneville, February 1801. At Vienna, Octo, 1809. ken to fragments at the battle of Aufterlitz; The power of the Pruffian Monarch destroyed on the plains of Jena, and continental Europe, a fecond time, laid at the feet of France.

But the work of devastation and death does not end here. The ambitious Bonaparte was not yet fatisfied. To ride triumphantly in the car of victory, over desolated Europe, while whole nations followed captive in his train, was not fufficient for him, -His ambition contemplated the exclusion of British commerce from the continent. But his grand project has been defeated. A third coalition has been formed, and after litterally washing Europe with blood, and filling the world with difmay, affisted by stratagems and treasons, the feverity of the elements, and the flames of the Ruffian capital, has victoriously entered Paris and produced a counter-revolution in France. And herein is completed the great work of the Allies. The prime object of Great Britain is at last accomplished; A "legitimate king" is established on the throne of his ancestors, and France has a change of Masters. Thus have millions been flaughtered, thus has creation groaned, to establish a poor, weak, pusillanimous king, on the abdicated throne of NAPOLEON.

During this clashing of the nations of Europe, America has been travelling the high road to eminence. But the fun of her prosperity has been often obscured by clouds of adversity. The storm, long gathering on her political horizon, is now beating. The Tocsin of war has sounded and America is in arms 1—In arms to fave her independence while tottering on the brink of ruin—to pluck it from the rude grasp of British tyrants.

The abufes which have driven us to this dread ful, but unavoidable refort, are perfectly underftood; but till amply atoned for must never be forgotten. Though you have often heard them enumerated and explained, I beg your indulgence a moment, while I exhibit the inveterate, deep rooted, and perfevering enmity of Great Britain.

From the moment she sealed the acknowle gement of our fovereignty, the has, with different hopes of fuccels, unceasingly meditated our stabiugation. The acknowledgement, was with her Ministry an act of necessity and not ot choice. She was at that time contending, not against her colonies only, but against Holland, France and Spain. His Majesty therefore, no longer able to trample on the rights of his American subjects, was compelled to acknowledge, and in fome degree, to refpect them. But the very hand by which he figned the treaty of peace was extended, before the ink was dry, in a violent infraction of its prov fions. In direct violation of the 7th article, the British retained possession of the garrisons on the Northern frontier. In violation of the law of God and man, they armed and infligated the merciles lavage to deeds of cruelty; that thock every civilized being but an Englishman.* That the favages on our frontiers have been encouraged in their barbarous murders, by British agents and British presents, I affert without fear of contradiction. The scalp of one of our fellow citizens, who had been immolated on the altar of Batish vengeance, has been oftentatiously displayed to grace the Legislative Hall of Upper Canada -And this too by a nation, boafting of its humanity, and hailed as the "BULWARK" of the benev-olent religion of JESUS! The turpitude, the tremendous consequences of this interference, need no comment. The wrath of vindictive God must await the favage wretch, whether red or

R

^{*} For the honor of my country, I could with that the word Englishman did not necessarily comprehend many who are Americans by birth, but Englishmen at heart. But it is a lamentable fact, that many among us have viewed the fcalping and butchering, of our frontier inhabitants, by British and Indian favages, with apparent indifference; or, engaging all their fympathy for these murg derers, have palliated and justified their most barbarous outrages.

white, that can deliberately dye his hands in huthan blood.

No new attack was immediately made on our rights. The British vainly imagined that the people, tossing on the billows of internal commotion, would soon discover their incompetency to govern themselves, & gladly call on them for protection. The adoption of the new constitution dissipated, like a shadow, these chimerical speculations, and taught them that forbearance was not likely to effect their object.

But villany is ever fruitful in expedients. The rights of *neutrality* were next to be attacked. For this purpole, fublituting naval power for maritime right, they began to fpread their commercial toils to entrap our commerce, and exclude us from the highway of nations. Armed with naval fupremacy, they trampled with fovereign contempt on the Law of God, as applied to nations, and their avaricious cupidity preyed, like the Vultur of Numidia, upon our commercial profperity.

Some of the most promittent, and universally acknowledged principles of the maritime law of nations are, that free ships make free goods; that neutral vessels bave a right to navigate freely, from port to port, on the coasts of the powers at war; that the effects of belligerant subjects, (excepting contraband) and the subjects themselves, (excepting military persons in actual service) shall be free in neutral vessels: that no blockade can be justifiable, unless it be supported by an adequate force, destined to maintain it, and to expose to bazard all vessels attempting to evade its operations; that the blockade must be of particular ports, actually invessed; and that vessels attempting to enter such ports, shall not be captured, unless they shall have been previously warned not to enter them.

The important principle, that free ships make free goods, is perhaps as old as commerce. The

memorable Treaty of Utrecht, that fettled all the commercial difficulties of Europe, made between Great Butain and France in 1713, and renewed in 1763, expressly acknowledged and recited this principle, so essential to the fafety of neutral commerce. It was acknowledged in the treaty of ,63, between Great Britain and Spain. It was introduced into the treaty of the former with Russia in ,66, with Holland in ,88, and into her treaties with Sweden and Denmark. It is the principle for which Russia, Denmark, Holland, Sweden, Austria, France, Spain, Pruffia, and the United States, contended in 1780. It was the great and fundamental principle of the ARMED NEUTRALITY of Russia and Denmark, established at Copenhagen in 1780, and acceeded to by Sweden, the United Provinces and other commercial nations. It may be found in the Treaty of the United States, concluded with France in ,78, with Holland in ,82, with Sweden in ,83, and with Pruffia in ,85. It is fanctioned by the immemorial usage of Nations. It even received, indirectly, the fanction of federalism in the Senate of the United States in 1805. Its infractions have always refulted from the plenitude of power and the weakness of neutrals. Great Britain, while subject to the naval rower of Spain, complained most bitterly and indignantly against the "right of fearch" for goods; But soon enabled to deduce the *right* from her ability, she pursued the fame course which she had fo ftrenuoufly condemned in others, and has at length unhefitatingly enumerated this abrupt departure from nature's law, amongst her "mari-time rights"

I am thus particular on this point, becaufe to this departure, and the unwarrantable extension of the fystem of blockade, may be attributed the annihilation of the neutrality of Europe, and the almost total exclusion of the American commerce from the ocean.

II

The present extravagant claim of our enemy may be traced to the rule of ,56—The rule of H is Britannic Majesty's prize court. At that time the univerfal law of nations began to give place to the municipal regulations of Great Britain. George the III. confidering his edict a rule by which independent nations must govern their commercial intercourse, declared, "that what was not found (relative to this intercourse) permited in the instructions given by his prize court, was, of course, understood to be probibited." Thus modestly affuring the control of the ocean, he afcended the throne of naval power, and, like Jupiter from Olympus, burled the thunder bolts of his wrath, at all who had the prefumption to exceed his Royal permission.

Here is the origin of the preposterous claim of the "*right of fearch*" for goods; having no argument to support it, but the thunder of British artillery.

Relying on the protection of the law of nations, the American flag was early hoifted in every port, and our canvals tpread as extensively as the ocean. But a fpirit of commercial monopoly, fostered by lawlefs ambition, and fupported by power, foon began to fpread its fatal influence. In violation of the principles which I have before enumerated, Great Britain, as early as .93, made an order of council, by virtue of which her veffels of war were " to flop and detain all veffels, laden with goods, the produce of any French colony, or carrying provisions or other fupplies to any fuch colony." The order was forupuloufly executed, and American veffels were captured and condemned with little ceremony. The United States were on the eve of war, but the treaty of .94 partially healed this wound upon our national honor and intereft; and peace, on *our* part, continued. But Great Britain did not loofe fight of the great object in view. In ,98 she prohibited neutral trade with the colonies and settlements of Holland, France, and Spain.

The fame monopolizing spirit, sharpened by the conflicting interests of Great Britain and France, led to the *paper* blockade of May 1806; by virtue of which the continent, from the ELBE to BREST, was *theoretically* invested with a British fleet.

Bonaparte, then Master of the continent, forgetting his impotency on the ocean, in his zeal to wreak his vengeance on its proud Mistrefs, at the expence of homest neutrality thundered his decree from a foreign capital, blockading the british Islands.

One more bold *paper* exhibition gave the fatal blow to our already fhattered commerce.

Under the orders in Council of 1807, blockadding nearly the whole continent of Europe, American veffels were frequently captured and con demned without attempting to enter the ports, thus *illegally* blockaded, and feized and annoyed even while within our own jurifdiction.

From the first attack on our commerce, till the declaration of war, 917 American vessels were facrificed to the commercial avarice of the British ration. This havoc will long be remembered by every one, who does not flumber in forgetfulness to justify the despoilers of his country.

A departure from the principle that "free ships make free" men, has been followed by consequences still more serious and disaftrous.

The right of fearch for men has never been acknowledged by any nation, nor has it ever been claimed by any but Great Britain, nor by her till fince the close of our revolution. It is a monstrous claim that originated in power, and which has been supported thus far by the all prevailing argument of British cannon. A claim so preposterous and humiliating in principle; fo cruel in execution; and fo awful in its confequences, never can be admitted by a fovereign nation. America shall deny its justice till her soil "shall melt with fervent heat."

To execute this claim, the petty officers of the British navy have long been in the habit of entering our veffels on the high feas, and even in our harbors, claiming the right to feize and carry into their fervice, not British born subjects only, but all who were not Americans, whether Sweeds, Russians, Prussians, Germans, Dutch, Italians, or Africans: And though they have not directly claimed the right, they have persevered in the prac-tice, of taking native Americans; and thousands, and tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens, have been hurried into merciless captivity, supported by the hope, that after having spent the best part of their lives in difgraceful vaffallage, and grown grey under the lash, being no longer serviceable to their masters, they should be graciously permitted to return to their native land to be buried in the foil of liberty. But alas ! even this forry hope is not often realized. Many have groaned away a life in the floating engines of British tyranny. Many have fallen while fighting against their countrymen.-The deck of the Epervier was crimloned by the blood of three American citizens. The bones of thousands of them are now decaying in the bottom of the Atlantic, or bleaching on its fhores.

Should any advocate of British justice and hamanity call for evidence of the truth of these remarks, I refer him to the declaration of Lord Castlereagh, in Parliament, that his government then held fixteen hundred American seamen in slavery; and remind him that no less than twenty fix were discov ered under the stags of the Peacock, Gurriere, Macedonean & Java. Thus are they brought in fight of their native country to figh, but figh in vain, to land on the fhores of liberty. There is no liberty for them but that "which remains for the people of God"—"a liberty which the world cannot give, nor all the powers of Earth and Hell confederate, take away."

Against this crying injustice our government have expostulated, remonstrated, and menaced in vain. In vain have they appealed to the humanity of the British nation; In vain have they offered to remove every ground, urged as a necessity for the practice of impressment. They have forborne till forbearance invited additional abuse. And what redress for past, what security against further abuses, have they received? The afflictions of dear relatives, the groans of wretched captives, and the voice of Heaven, furnish, impressively furnish the answer.

What have been the excufes for refufing to releafe American featnen from flavery? Look at an extract from the black and difgraceful catalogue.—" That they had no documents, or their protections were irregular; Had been releafed from *prifon* in Gottenburgh; Were faid to be impofters; Were not to be found on board the fhips ftated; Were natives of foreign countries, Pruffia, Sweden, Italy, &c. Had *attempted* to defeat." And they may now add, "made prifoners of war, contrary to the practice of every civilized nation."

Are there any prefent who think imprefiment of little confequence, and a contemptible caufe of war? I invite fuch, for God's fake, to ponder this lift of excufes again. Will you fuffer yourfelves to be infultingly told, when you demand the liberty of your countrymen, that they have not the evidence of their citizenship in their pockets, or that this evidence is informal? That they had attempted to flee from the most illegal and cruel bondage, and therefore must continue under the fcourge? That having been lashed like dogs through a British fleet, they had fainted and fallen in a ship, that did not happen to be the particular one stated to contain them ? Will you-But I forbear, I can pursue the subject no surther. Gracious God, to what a state of degradation is my country reduced!

Did not these abuses, my friends, in language folemn as death, and loud as the thunders of Ætna, proclaim the necessity of war? Permit me then briefly to urge the propriety and necessity of continuing it.

The caufes which impelled to the conteft ftill exift. The conduct of the favage villains, who have profecuted it on the part of the enemy, has ftamped them with everlafting infamy and difgrace. The fcalping and butchering at the River Rafin, the flames of Havre de Grace, and the ravages at Hampton, are imperifhable monuments of British barbarity and outrage. The British have given us no affurance that they will ever cease to arm and infligate the ferocious favages; Then must British influence over them be destroyed, or our frontiers be forever dyed in blood.

The operation of the orders of council, as they regard America, is loft in the profecution of the war; and the orders themfelves have become a dead letter, in confequence of the countries, to which they were applied, having ceafed to be hoftile. But they have never been repealed. The British declaration of the 23d of June, 1812, contained a *conditional* repeal; But the condition never having been performed, the repealing inftrument became void on the face of it. And many of the blockades, inftituted by virtue of the order, have, within seven months, been raised in confequence of the places to which they were applied, being no longer under the dominion of France. But whatever may have been their fate, the principle on which they were founded has never been abandoned. The right to carry them again into operation, or to iffue others, was expressly declared by the inftrument containing the conditional repeal. And should a treaty now be concluded, without stipulating against this claim, we may hereafter find that the "Lion is not dead but stilleepeth," ready to rife at the command of his master and again feize his wonted prey.

The practice of imprefiment, like the operation of the orders of council, is merged in the war; But the fubject remains unfettled, and the extravagant claims of our enemy are unabated. Most of the illfated mortals who have been caught in the fnare of British injustice, have been made prisoners of war; Others have bled profusely, and died wretchedly, under the flag which has so often struck to the bravery of our tars.

Shall then the fword be fheathed before the objects be effected for which it was drawn? Shall our countrymen be abufed, infulted, and murdered and our vengeance ftill loiter? Shall their groans reproach us becaule our indignation flumbers? No; The fuffering prifoner, the voice of the people, & the voice of God demand our interpofition. Let our arms be laid down, without relieving and fecuring the fubjects of this abufe, and every eaftern breeze, every Atlantic wave that rolls to our fhores, will bear us a meffage, dreadful as the condemning rebukes of conficience.

Has our government done every thing practicable, confiftent with honor and dignity, to bring the war to an honorable termination? This becomes an important inquiry. A reference to facts will exhibit, unimpaired, that pacific fpirit which faved us from war till forbearance ceafed to be a virtue.

No sooner was the sword drawn in defence of

our violated rights, than an armiftice was proposed, on condition of a discontinuance of impressment, and a discharge of American seamen already impressed—a convincing proof that peace, without disgrace, was the object of the war. In the characteristic spirit and temper of the British Ministry, the proposal was oftentationally rejected, and our government treated with contempt.

When a ceffation of hoftilities was proposed by Admiral Warren, nothing was urged as preliminary to its acceptance, but a fulpension of this infamous practice, during the armistice, on condition that the United States schould exclude British feamen from their employment; The President offering, at the same time, to enter into a discussion on the subject of impression without an armistice. But this mode did not comport with the Admiral's views. He could not confent even to a *suspension* of man-stealing; and war continued.

In March 1813, a law was enacted in Congress prohibiting the employment of British feamen, and imposing heavy penalties on those who should violate it. This at once destroyed the foundation of the mighty plea of necessity, to long urged by Great Britain, and "her friends in America," and convinced *candid* men, that the object of impressment was to man the British navy with American feamen.

The prompt acceptance of the Ruffian mediation which Great Britain in her ufual ftyle of felf importance refused, because her "maritime rights" must not be *touched*," exhibits additional evidence of the Prefident's attachment to peace, and his unceasing exertions to obtain it.

Our enemy, refuging the interposition of her intimate friend and Ally. proposed to treat *directly* at London or Gottenburgh. This proposition was met without delay, and measures immediately taken to carry the contemplated negociation into effect. Thus has every honorable exertion, on our part, been made, calculated to restore the bleffings of peace; And every *other* expedient having failed, the justice of continuing war, as the *last*, is not to be doubted. There are but two alternatives—war and unqualified dependence.

In this dilemma, with the deareft interests of our country at stake, we find a class of our fellow citizens apparently ready for "unconditional submission;" prepared to surrender the independence, which cost the richest blood of a nation of freemen, and welcome the statal embrace of tyranny. Modestry claiming "all the talents," and "all the *religion*" in the country, they despond in melancholy at our success, rejoice with joy unspeakable at our failures, and style themselves the exclusive "*friends of peace*." But before we submit with them, we will inquire who they are, and how consistently they claim this popular title.

They are the fame characters who once thought Louifiana worth the *facrifice of peace*, and after it had been peaceably acquired by fair purchafe, for lefs than three cents per acre, thought it a defolate and worthlefs region, becaufe (no doubt) it was not the "*price of blood*." They are the fame who talked loudly of war with England in ,93, waged hoftilities againft France in ,98; and deluged congrefs with petitions for decifive meafures againft Great Britain in 1806; modeftly telling the government they could not "*be kicked into a war*." The fame who have fo feelingly fupported their claim to " all the *religion*," by rejoicing, in folemn mockery, at the calamities of war in Europe, and inviting faction and rebellion at home. The fame who wrap themfelves in hypocrify, facrilegioufly affume the character of the great and good WASHINGTON, attach his benevolence to their names, but explode it from their hearts, and "remembering to forget their former hoffile fpirit, cry peace with the magnanimous "BULWARK," and difgrace to our country. The fame who dupe many an honeft follower into a belief, that they are the *real* friends of peace, while ambition and treafon "lurk in anxious hoffility" in their bofoms. These are the characters who " in all the complacency of accomodating forgetfulnefs" now ftyle themfelves the "*peace party*," and brand with infamy those who are bleeding in defence of their infulted country.

Shall we adopt the courfe pointed out by thefe lambs of pcace, proftrate our fovereignty at the throne of George the third, and rely with humble confidence on his mercy, becaufe they do not gracioufly approbate the war? Their difapprobation furnishes no evidence of its injuffice. Their opposition to the administration has been *indiferiminate* for more than thirteen years. No republican officer has eleaped the lash of their flander; No deportment of the government has been fufficiently correct to meet their approbation; No public measure has had their support. Justifying, palliating, or denying British aggressions, they have not befitated to heap the vilest abuse on the foldier, who has fought, and bled, and fallen in *their* defence and for *their* benefit.

When the government have adopted pacific measures, their voice has been for war. When government appeald to arms, war was "unnecef-

When the arrangement was made with Erskine. Mr. Madison was culogised, and even distriguisteed as a federalist; New abuses were lavishly heaped upon his Predecessor, by declaring that the British government had long been ready and anxious to make the same arrangement. But when this arrangement was *rejected*, these fupple gentlemen changed their tune and fung another long. They declared the arrangement to have been an unauthorised act of the British minister; Madison became a subject of the most infamous calumny & was charged, *unblushingly* charged with having acted with a perfect knowledge of the fact. Here is an everlasting monument of federal confistency and British faith.

Do we want another inftance of federal abfurdity? The Ruffian mediation inftantly prefents itfelf for confideration. When report first publisted this interposition of the Emperor Alexander these characters hastily declared that the Prefident would not accept it, because it might eventuate in *peace*; But no sooner did his conduct difappoint these lying heralds, than they pronounced the acceptance an act of folly and madness; And the epistles of the notorious Timothy Pickering were industriously circulated to shew, that Mr. Madison, when he accepted the mediation, knew that to be an unauthorised act of the *Ruffian* Minister. A "plain tale" has fince defeated this object.

This fame clafs of men condemned the war, at its commencement, because the nation was unprepared to profecute it; and, acknowledging its justice, laid hold of every weapon calculated to destroy the public credit, obstruct enlistments, and encourage defertion to prevent a preparation.

It foon fuited their purpose to pronounce it unjust; and Parish, Osgood, &co. were put in requisition to make the people believe it. These pious heralds, forgetting their facred functions, thundered their anathemas from the *desk* in *fecurity*; and every one who engaged in the war was pronounced a murderer upon a large scale."

I have spoken of the federal party in general terms, but I seel myself bound to make many honorable exceptions. A great proportion of that party regard with folicitude the welfare of their country; but placing too much confidence in characters whofe art enables them to practice deception, and who, like the *Ignis fatuus*, ferve only to bewilder and miflead, they are unfulpectingly drawn into that policy, which militates against its best interests. I would not therefore indifcriminately arraign the conduct of that party, but recount, with honest indignation, the abuse of political demagogues, who "would rather rule in Hell than ferve in Heaven."

Shall we despair because our arms have not been fo successful as a heart too fanguine may have calculated ? Should we not rather exult that our troops, have acquired a reputation which affords the best evidence of eventual triumph? The panders of faction and diforganization spend their fleepless nights and days, to make us believe that the war has difgraced our country. Heavens, what foul but feels indignant at the humiliating attempt! Where is the British apologist that can point to an inftance in which the American foldiery has been difgraced? Has the spirited bravery that repulsed the attacks on Craney Island, Fort Meigs, Fort Stephenson, Sacket's Harbor and Ofwego, difgraced them ? Shall the prowefs that reduced Fort George, and shook the battlements of York to their base, receive no applause? Shall the triumphs of the Brave Jackfon and his fellow foldiers pass for defeat and disgrace? Go to the tomb of the immortal Pike with fuch language-his genius shall arise and confound you. Has the youthful Perry, have Hull, Bainbridge, Jones, Decatur and other heroes, gathered no Laurels? the crimfoned waves of Erie, the reddened billows of the Atlantic, and the broken charm of british naval invincibility, emphasically respond. Shall the brave but unfortunate Lawrence, whofe dying injunction ought to be recorded on every

heart and adopted as the watch-word of our country, be infulted? The gratitude of that country forbids it.

Our enemy has been taught leffons of bravery and humanity. More than a thoufand of her veffels have been captured in the fhort fpace of two years. The flag of our gallant little navy has, at the fame moment, wantoned in the breezes of the Northern Sea, and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The brilliant achievements of the war have eftablifhed a character for the American Soldier, glorious as virtue, immortal as the foul. The faithful hiftorian will record them. They will hereafter glitter on his page like the ftars in heaven ; and the wretches who would difgracefully mourn the triumph of their country, and rob the foldier of his glory, fhall be unable to obfcure them.

While the patriotic heart beats high for the honor of our country, we have ferious reason to regret our failures and disappointments. And if we indulge in gratulation for success, and in forrow for misfortune, let us profit by past experience. It we are reproached for the failure of the Canadian campaigns, let it be remembered, that to wrest the Canadas from the French, cost five campaigns of the veteran troops of England, and the assistance of her American colonies. The three first ended in defeat and difgrace. The fourth was profecuted by a British force of 50 000 troops, aided by a fleet of 28 thips of the line & 18 frigates, against a French force of less than fifteen thousand, which but partially accomplished its object-It cost another bloody campaign to conquer the Canadas.

It will not be forgotten that the first years of the revolution dragged heavily, and produced nothing for America but defeat or transfient triumphs. The revolutionary patriot, who now trembles over his grave, or lives only in the remembrance of a

grateful country, was often fatigued, exhausted and discouraged; Despair and melancholy were folemnly depicted on his brow; On the one hand he beheld his dwelling wrapped in flames, & on the other, his companion in arms falling by his fide praying, while the lamp of life was glim-mering in its focket, for the falvation of his country; He faw the field of battle flowed with blood, and could view nothing but gloom and adversity in perspective. With these views, he was often ready to exclaim "alas! we have engaged in a work which our united exertions can never perform, and my country must fink under the weight of difaster and oppression." But hope, that " anchor of the foul," enabled him to perfevere. The triumphat Yorktown foon ended his anxiety and rewarded his virtue. If tears were permitted to tarnish the lustre of Heaven, how would he now weep at the political depravity and degeneracy of those, who would furrender, without a struggle, the fruits of his blood and treasure.

United in defence of our country, we may ftand, like a mighty mountain, amidft the thunders of war and "the crafh of worlds." Our refources are amply fufficient; our caufe is as juft as the caufe of Heaven; and the voice of our fathers thunders from the tomb, the folemn injunction, "dont give up the SHIP!" If our republic falls it falls the *laft*, and freedom Eids the world adieu. We are defending "liberty in her laft retreat," and we will not defert her till every fortrefs be a Fort Grifwold, and every ftrait a Thermopylæ. With this refolution, let us meet the legions of our enemy on the thore, "and if compelled to retreat, let the laft intrenchment of liberty be our GRAVE."